MODERN POLICIES,

Taken from *Machiavel*, *Borgia*, and other choice Authors, by an Eye-Witnesse.

Hom. Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.

Salust. Fragm.

Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.

Plautus in Captivis.

Nam doli, non doli sunt, nisi Astucolas,
Sed malum maximum si id palam pervenit.

Trinummus.

Ambitio jam more sancta'st, Libera'st a Legibus,
Petere honorem proflagitio, more sit:
Mores, Leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

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To my very good Lord,
My Lord *R. B. E.*

My Lord,

I Was never so proud, as to think I could Write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye: what I now send, appeales to your Candor, entreating you to lay aside the per-

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ſon of a Judge, for that of a Friend. It is at beſt but a Pamphlet, whether you conſider its bulke, or worth. The reſult of a few penſive houers ſpent in recollecting what the memory had regiſtred from publike obſervance, or private reading, in a Theme ſo ſadly copious as this is. If it bee not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it

was

was this: Having had opportunity to looke abroad into the World, I tooke ſome notice of the Contraſtos of the Italian Princes, I remarked the Spaniards griping Portugall, his grounds for the Challenge of that Kingdome, and his way of managing thoſe grounds; I look'd upon his Method of propagating Chriſtianity in the Weſt; (where one

ſayes the Indian is bound to bee religious and poore upon pain of death.) Moreover, *I* obſerved with what Artifice the Pope moderated in the Europæan quarrells, and with what devices hee twiſted the Goſpell, and the Advantage of the Chaire together, and in all the ſtruglings and diſputes, that have of late yeares befalne this corner of the

the world, *I* found, that although the pretence was fine and ſpirituall, yet the ultimate end, and true ſcope, was gold, and greatneſſe, and ſecular glory.

But (My Lord) to come neare, when *I* ſaw Kingdomes tottering, one Nation reeling againſt another, yea, one piece of a Nation juſtling the other, and ſplit into ſo many parties, and

petty enmities: and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad, and exorbitant opinions: I sighed, and it grieved mee to see popurlar easinesse, and well-meaning abused by Ambitious selfe-seeking men; for there is a Generation that is borne to bee the Plague, and Disquiet, and Scourge of the Age it lives in; that gladly Sacrifice the publike Peace to pri-

private intereſt: and when they ſee all fired, with joy warme their hands at thoſe unhappy Flames, which themſelves kindle, tuning their merry Harpes, when others are weeping over a Kingdomes funerall.

But, above all, it pierced my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civill diſtempers, and con-

tentions that have every where ſhaken the Foundations of Church and State, ſo that (as the Catholike noted) there hath beene no floud of miſery, but did ſpring from, or at leaſt was much ſwell'd by their Holy-water. I ſearched the Evangelicall Records; and there was was nothing but milde and ſoft Doctrines: I inquired into the breathings of the

the Spirit, and they were pacificatory, *I* wondered from what *P*recedents and Scripture-incouragements theſe men deduced their practiſes, and at laſt was forced to conclude, that they were onely pretended Chaplaines to the *P*rince of Peace: Thoſe Torches that ſhould have beene for ſaving Light, were degenerated into firebrands: Thoſe Trumpets

pets that ſhould have ſounded Retreats to popular furies, knew no other muſicke but Martiall All-armes.

I have endeavoured in the Sequell to repreſent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a perſon over-covetous of glory: the piece is courſe, but yet like; drawne onely in water colours, which ſome of greater Leiſure and Abili-

*A*bilities may poſsibly hereafter lay in oyle.

You know that the deſires of man are vaſt as his throughts, boundleſs as the Ocean, πίθος τετριμμένος, ἀπέραντος ἐπιθυμίας, *Iamblicus.* A bored tub is not more inſatiate. 'Tis pitty that greatneſſe ſhould at any time bee out of the Rode of goodneſſe; and I would ſometimes, if I durſt, with

Socrates,

Socrates, curſe him that firſt ſeparated profitable & honeſt.

It does to me a little reliſh of *Paradox*, that where ever *I* come, *Machiavell* is verbally curſed and damn'd, and yet practically embraced & aſſerted, for there is no Kingdome but hathe a Race of men that are ingenious at the perill of the publike; ſo that as one ſaid of *Galba* in reſpect

ſpect of his crooked body: *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; ſo many *I* ſay of theſe in regard of their crooked uſe; That wit could not have choſen a worſe manſion, than where it is viciated, and made a Pander to wickedneſſe.

If you aske mee what *I* mean to trouble the world, that is already under ſuch a glut of *Bookes*; You may eaſily perceive that

that I conſulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publique eſteeme by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might poſſibly be of ſome caution to prevent the inſinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies, into my native Countrey; If any plaine-hearted, honeſt man ſhall caſt away

way an houre in perusing it, hee may perhaps finde something in it resembling his owne thoughts, and not altogether strange to his owne experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft-times endear'd to us by false Titles and complements; being couzened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the

the thing wee aſcribe it: or elſe, omitting the vice which is the maine, it intimates onely the vertue, which is the By: As for example, wee call an ambiguous man μεγαλοπρεπῆ, a perſon of Noble aime and high enterprize: whereas in truth, it ſignifies, an indirect affector of Grandeur: And I finde that by incautelous intertainment of theſe Phraſes, our judge-

judgements are often bribed to misapprehensions, and wee seduced to bad actions. I have endeavored in the ensuing discourse to wipe off the paint and fucus: that so things may appeare in their true complexion, unadulterated with the slights and subtilties of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordship may be one of those which the darke Poet calls

εἰς ὑβήσαντα, that the youth of your Honours may be renewed to you, that your happineſſe may know no other ſeaſon but a ſpring, is the earneſt vote

Of your

bounden

SERVANT.

TO

TO THE READER.

Reader,

THat nothing in this might deterre a cõmon eye, the quotations are translated, not κατὰ πόδας, but as might best serve the sense and scope of the Author: yet I beleeve thou wilt find little in the English, which is not warranted by the Originall, or (which is more) by the Truth. I invite none to it, but such as desire to bee just valuers

valuers, and loyall obſervers of a good conſcience. Now, if thou beeſt not baniſhed by the verdict of thine own breaſt, thou art welcome; otherwiſe read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This Book is like a Garment in a Brokers ſhop, not deſigned to any one perſon, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was to repreſent to you in the Generall (not mentioning particulars) a curſed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politician: 'Twas a good caution that *Caſſius* gave the Senate, concerning

ning *Pompey*, --*Nos illum deridemus, ſed timeo ne Ille nos gladio ἀνιμυκλησίαν*: T is fooliſh to laugh in the face of *Dionyſius*, and dangerous to ſhrug before *Andronicus*: 'tis not good to tempt the diſpleaſures of Tyrants upon idle ſcores, a thinne ſhield will ſerve to keepe out the ſtile of a Satyriſt; nor can I commend him that loſt his Biſhoprick for a Romance.

Therefore I brand not perſons, but things; and if any mans guilt flaſhes in his face when he reads, let him mend the errour and he is unconcerned. 'Tis to no

no purpoſe to tell that there is a ſecond part, twin, and coetaneous to this, that was once intended to run the ſame fortune; but I have many reaſons, beſides my own weakneſſe to publiſh a valediction to the Preſſe, (eſpecially as to diſcourſes of this nature,) And, if ever, I would fain have it ſeen by a fairer light.

The Great God of Heaven poure into us ſuch inward props and comforts, as may helpe us to ſtem and beare up againſt the rugged traverſes of degenerous times. And let it beget in us milder opinions of adver-

ſity,

ſity, when we conſider that the winter of affliction does the better fit us to beare the eternall verdure of Glory.

The time will come when all ſhadowes and apparitions ſhall vaniſh: Glorious Morne! when wilt thou dawne? Then theſe ſullen Clouds ſhall be ſcattered, Right reſtored, Worth prized, Vertue honoured, Vice degraded, and Honeſty rewarded.

Farewell.

THe name of Prince, which I often use, must be understood, as convertible with any person, or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy; all the dialects of Government being concerned in the Abuse; I have made the chief, and most familiar to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant that the Quotations may justly seeme more numerous than Method, and the rule of Art will conveniently allow; I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectednes; that I have been little studious of Elegance, and curiosity in the composure; esteeming nakednesse to be the best dress of truth: and if I mistake not, those attendants I have here procur'd her, may afford some material, though little ornamentall advantage.

A

A Præmonition:

IT *is farre from the de-ſigne of this Treatiſe, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the perſon of any ſober Stateſman; 'Tis a knowledge that no man obſerves with more due reſpects than my ſelfe; Becauſe, I know it in no meane degree eſſentiall to the peace, and flouriſhing condition of a Kingdome or Common-Wealth. 'Tis a jewell to be locked up in ſome few rare Cabinets;*

and not to bee made cheape, and expos'd to irreverence, by being barred, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The **Pseudo-Policy** here mentioned is contradistinct to that science, which is ever built upon Piety and Prudence; for upon these solid Bases, your wise Architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a Prince, and subjection in a people: so knitting the interest of both with reciprocall mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that Majesty may be preserved in its just splendor, and yet

the liberty of the ſubject remaine inviolate: Hee is the Atlas *of the falling State, cures it when ſicke, ſets it when diſ-joynted, meets it in its ſeverall preſſures with ſutable reliefs. Such was* Philip de Commines, *of whom one ſaid, it was a meaſuring caſt, whether* Lewis *were the wiſer King, or* Philip *the wiſer Counſellor,: ſuch was* Burleigh *to our late Queen* Elizabeth, *whoſe advice had very eminent influence into the proſperity of her Reign, which was ſuch as I beleeve few ages can parallel, and future times will render her happy Annals, as*

written like Xenophon's Cyrus. Non ad historiæ fidem sed ad exemplum justi imperij; discovering not so much what was, as what should be: not intended for a true History, but for the Effigies of a just Empire. *So that if we love Peace, or Plenty, or Liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgement to owne that in* Plutarch, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθρωπος οὐ κτᾶται τελειοτέραν. True Policy deserves to be put in the first file of Vertues.

Cato Maj.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge

ledge hath b'ene abuſed to looſe and ambitious ends, by ſome men who ſeeme to have ſuck'd the venome out of all politicks, miſapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their owne occaſions, like the Lawes that were made in **Cauſinus** his **Babel**, to be rul'd by manners, and not manners by Lawes. They vex true Policy by miſ-interpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts **Diana's** of hypocriſie and ſubtilty, and worſhipping them in their actions. Ophyogenes, & Pſylli. Furialibus commentariis illuſtrant.

The Rules following, there are few ſo ſilly as to be-

beleeve, though too many so wicked as to practise; and not onely so, but by a bold imposture to perswade that such actions as are deduc'd from those principles are justifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these Rocks, and shun them, and detest knavery, though never so specious, and nauseate sin, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

First

First Principle.

The Politician must have the shadow of Religion, but the substance hurts.

THere is no Superstition in Politicks more odious then to stand too much upon niceties and scruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the haire, when hee advised, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such a

prudent neglect, as is ſcarce diſcernable from a tenderneſſe; not permitting it to be techy and reluctting, nor yet proſtituting it, unleſſe upon ſolemne and inſuperable occaſion: Hee notes it from *Papirius* in *Livy*, who ſlighted the *Pullarii* handſomly, and was reward; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it groſly, and was puniſhed.

But becauſe the Polititian is beſt able to tell his own documents, you may pleaſe to conceive you found theſe broken diſcourſes in his ſtudy: to

to each of which I ſhall adde an Antidote.

Externall holineſſe invites awful regards; there is no maske that becomes Rebellion & Innovation ſo well as Religion; Nothing that ſo much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing ſo to diſſimulate piety, that when we act ſtrongly againſt it, in that very article of wickedneſſe the people Saint us. *Herod* would fain worſhip, when he means to worry.

---- *Ipſo ſceleris molimine*
Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius:

In

In th' act of ſin doe but Religion cry,
Sayes Tereus, *you as holy are as I.*

This is that which leads the World in a ſtring, that hallowes the moſt helliſh enterpriſes: for the common people (which are the τὸ πολὺ) never ſee behind the curtaine, a handſome gloſſe is with them as good as the Text: I believe the great Naturaliſt was in the right, when he called a Deity a jolly Invention, *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid eſt ſummum, ſed credi ex uſu vitæ eſt*; 'Tis ridiculous to thinke that

Plin. l. 2. c. 7.

that God troubles himſelfe about ſublunary things, but 'tis not fit the world ſhould know it. Let me injoy the temporall advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternall; Let me uſe it for a Cloake or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown.

The River in *Athenæus* is my emblem, whoſe upper waters were ſweet & gratefull, but towards the bottom brackiſh. Let me be a ſuperficiall, let others be fundamentall Chriſtians: I like the humor of the *Samſeans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, nor *Chriſtians*,

43 *Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulciſſima, quæ vero in imo ſalſa.*

ans, but preſerving a *commodious* Correſpondence with all: whatſoever I act in reference to Heaven, is meerly theatricall; and done in ſubordination to ſome other intereſt. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Laws ſo effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddeſſe. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Region I perſonate be true or falſe, ſo it be but popular: and if the people I meane to juggle with erre fundamentally, I can by no meanes court them more, than by embracing

cing their deluſion; It buckles them very cloſe to me in morall obſervance, to aſſiſt them in their ſpiritual ſoundneſs, and mixe with their diſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hell's black Canons. How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinals* conferred notes, ---*Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto! How profitable has the Tale of Chriſt beene to us?* O the rich income and glorious reſult of hypocriſie! This, this

this must bee diligently studyed and practised.

--- Da justum sanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
If that my deedes of darkenesse may
Be hid in clouds as blacke as they;
If being ugly, I may paint,
Why then I am a true new Saint.

Privacy for a sinne and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes seeme as white as innocency it selfe: the strictnesse of that Thief was very

very notable, who always before he went about the Work of his calling (for ſo he called ſtealing) went to prayers, that God would bleſſe and proſper him: So I ſay grace to the Deſigne, be it never ſo wicked, & give thanks for the ſucceſs, be it never ſo bloody.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt be no ſuch puling thing as Conſcicence, Hell, and heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian eſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerved when they

they come to oppoſe it: Had *Alexander* boggled at invading other mens Kingdoms, he had never wept for the ſcarcity of Worlds. There is no greater obſtacle to generous Actions, then a coy and ſquemiſh Conſcience; 'Tis pretty that ſome tel us, that it ſtrikes *Surdo verbere*, *With a ſtill and ſilent ſtroke*; and then how can it be heard in the noyſe and buſtle of a clamorous World? Had your mighty Conquerours, and your valiant Captaines, and your thriving Popes, liſtned to this inward Charmer, their

their Names had never swell'd, and look'd bigge in the Rolls of Fame.

Cala-

Colasterion.

BUt let all ſober Chriſtians know, that this Shell of Religion, though it may be of externall conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye lookes on with more abhorrency: Wee may poſſibly deceive men, but it is in vaine to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion ſhall find a reall Hell, and 'tis pitty that ſuch a Sacred thing ſhould be *violenced*, and made ſubſervient

vient to rebellious irregular designes.

As for such who have conspir'd with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their consciences, though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet there will bee a day (if not in this life) when that Witnes, that judge, that Jury, will not bee bribed. God hath fixed it in the soule as an eternall Register, as an impartiall Diary, as the *Censor* of the affections, & Pædagogue of the Passions. It does not only illustrate divine *Origen.*

iustice in an *Autocatacri-*

sy

ſy, but was meant by God for a bridle and reſtriction: And he that hath by an inveterate wickedneſs conquered the oppoſition which God ſeated in his heart to ſinne, may poſſibly conſult well with his preſent advantage and greatneſſe, but not at all with his future comfort; for beſides the loſſe of that intimate pleaſure which waits upon innocency; He feeles ſometimes thoſe Boſome-quarrells that verberate and wound his Soule, --for

Vinum in in pectore.

Ζυνείδησις τὴν ψυχὴν πλήττει.

Prin-

Principle II.

The Politician must by all meanes make the most insinuating applications to the People that he can; and lock up his owne designe, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Lawes, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE Prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knacke of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then weilding those Grudges to

to the favour and advantage of private ends; for the People are to the Polititian like Tooles to the Mechanick, hee can performe nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheeles, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually there must be an excellency, in these following slights.

First, To assigne such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redresse, as may open a way to the alteration he aimes at, as if he meanes to alter the Government, or to engross

groſſe the Supremacy, he muſt artificially convince of a neceſſity to arme, 1. Defenſively, and if that ſucceedes, 2. Offenſively; This hee may do by falſe Alarmes of danger, inventing horrid newes, and plying the people with ſuch fictitious perils, as may make them believe, Religion and Liberty, and all is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitol.

Secondly, When hee ſees opportunity to reveale his own deſign, hee muſt doe it gradually, and by piece-meale; for

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

that which at one view would bee a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts, and they will digeſt it wel enough.

Thirdly, He muſt compoſe his very garb and geſture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion bee the Mode, he muſt in his tales knock his breaſt, atteſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelfe if hee does not doe that, which he never intends.

Fourthly he gives them good Words, and bad Actions, like thoſe the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem*

littem initis, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of oppreſſion: for it is moſt certaine if you pleaſe them with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had beene impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Oratour writ to his Friend *Atticus*, *---Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military Licence was miſcalled liberty; This is well deſcribed by *Plautus* in *Tuculento*.

Ingenioſi muſc ipulatores.

In melle ſunt linguæ ſitæ veſtræ, atque orationes,
Lacteque : corda felle ſunt ſita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amare facitis.
Pretence white as milk,
Ana as ſoft as ſilke
will doe the feat :
Your hearts as ſowr as gall,
Purpoſe our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

κλὸν τῆμα: Fifthly, He obſerves that they receive probabilities wiſeiy propounded, more greedily than naked truths : and therefore he is very ſtudious to glaſe and poliſh his

Im-

Impostures, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*. γλυχὺ ψεῦδος.

—— Βροτῶν φρένα ——
ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις,
ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι:

Glorious Lyes,
Well marshal'd tales
Doe still finde favour:
Truth all forlorne
Intreats and wooes,
But none will have her.

But that of *Menander*:

τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει
ἑνίοτε με ζῶ, καὶ πιθανοτέραν ὄχλου.

Let but the vulgar judge
(the Poet knew)
They'd take the probable and
leave the true.

Sixthly, when he hath by the assistance of the people got the sword into his owne hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future complyance. Hee that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifice his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publique liberty and freedome; as if his veines knew no other bloud, but such as hee would be proud to spend in their service, having now served himselfe of them,

them, he forgets the bosome that warmed him, they hear from him now in a palinode, he curles up his smooth compliments into short Laconicks, and exchanges his court-ship for command.

Colasterion.

FIrst, We may be assured, that there is no greater Index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity: which appears in meeke addresses to the people, wooing and familiar condescentions, bemoaning their sufferings, commending a more vigorous sence of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad rule,

Non temerarium est ubi dives
blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem,
panem ostentat altera:

Ne-

Nemini credo, qui longe blandu'ſt dives pauperi.
Tis not for nought, when theſe above
Tender their ſervice, and their love.
Theſe are but profitable Arts,
Their Tongues are ſtringers to their Hearts.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grande, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ ſuperbiâ comitatem fore*, *Pride never condeſcends without deſign.* The extreame kindneſſe of fawning of great perſons, is alwaies ſuſpicious, becauſe often fraudulent: remem-

ber the *Sileni*, that uſe to kill with hugges, and embraces.

Secondly, Know it is very uſuall for men to perſonate goodneſſe, till they have accompliſhed their ends; 'tis obſerved of *Appius*, when he had his wiſh, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ perſonæ*; *He left wearing of another mans perſon*: 'tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, quod ſibi volunt,

Dum id impetrant, boni ſunt, ſed id ubi jam penes ſeſe habent,

Ex bonis peſſimi, & fraudulentiſſimi ſunt,

Be-

Before the man
Had got his end
He was all puritan:
What he would have
He thus obtained,
And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a prety storie, of one *Athenion* borne obscurely, who as long as hee was private and poore, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by jugling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruell, covetous and barbaricke tyranny: as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never a better

ter Servant, and a worse Master.

Thirdly, We know that a good aime, much lesse a good pretence cannot justifie a bad action, and therefore wee ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulnesse of the meanes, as about the goodnesse of the end. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that wee must not doe evill that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue our selves from future cousenage, if we examine the lawfulnesse of every circumstance leading

leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

Prin-

Principle III.

If the Supremacy bee invaded, the Lapſes of the former Magiſtrate muſt bee inculcated with the greateſt advantage, and what is wanting in reality, muſt bee ſupplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot eaſily be imagined of what ſingular importance the aſpiring and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular diſcontent to that height which is requiſite for a rebellion: and here it muſt diligently

diligently be enquired, if there have not beene indeed ſuch lapſes, as have galled the people; and though they be old ſores and skinn'd, yet they muſt be ſearched, & refreſhed, and exaſperated with all the urging circumſtances that come within the invention of ſcandall; It muſt be remembred, if any perſons of publique note have ſuffered under the Sword of Juſtice, whoſe crimes can by Art or Eloquence bee extenuated, whoſe hard meaſure muſt be mentioned with teares, that ſo old Traytors may be propounded for new

Mar-

Martyrs. This hath been the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar in these words,--

Barcklay contra Monarch. 30.

Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, & adhuc est ad occupandum tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, & populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur, non quo plebem, cùjus solius commodis inserviri videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo popularì aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi & januam ad eam ipsam digni-

dignitatem, requiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant. It was ever the most compendious way of usurpation, to dissemble a strong affection to our country; lamenting the vices of the Prince, and miseries of the People; not with an intent to rescue them from servitude, but to get such a portion of favour, as may list us up to the same pitch of honour on their shoulders; which having obtain'd, we transcendently abuse, changing the Rods of Royalty into the Scorpions of Anarchy, Aristocracy, or a free State.

'Tis

'Tis the fashion of fortunate Rebels to feed the people with shells, and empty names, as if their bare assertion could demonstrate to us (against all experience) that 'tis freedome to be slaves to Quondam Peasants, and slavery to be subjects to a True and Naturall Prince. And therefore if the Prince be severe, he gives them Neros brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he bee of parts and contrivance, he cals it pernicious ingenuity: If he bee milde and favorable to tender consciences, he declaimes against his toleration

tion. If he urge uniformity, and decency in divine ſervice, he rails at his Superſtition. And becauſe there is no ſuch æquilibrious vertue, but has ſome flexure to one of the extreames, he is very carefull to publiſh the extreame alone, and to ſilence the vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himſelf from obloquy (which ſhall ſcarce be, if ſmal faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice muſt be followed, to calumniate ſtoutly, till the people have entertained

ned ſomething to his prejudice: 'Tis a figure in Politiques to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the People be diſpoſed to alteration, theſe muſt be firſt urged againſt a Monarch to depoſe him, or if need be, to murther him; which is commendable, if you can dreſſe him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it juſtified by an honeſt *Scot*, who complaines that there are not ſome glorious rewards appoynted for Tyrannicides: and by the beſt of Oratours; *Græcos Deorum honores, tribuiſſe*

Buchanan

Pro Milo

iis,

iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt, The Grecians gave divine honors to those that kill Tyrants. And by the Tragedian, *Herc. furens.*

Victima haud ulla amplior potest.
Magisve optima mactari Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus.
More gratefull victime none to Jove *can bring,*
Then is the blood of slaughter'd unjust King.

And secondly, these personall faults must be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it selfe.

There remaines to disperse the commenda-

dation of that Government, which is intended for a Succeſſour: if *Ariſtocracy* the long-liv'd proſperity of *Sparta* and *Venice*, is a very plauſible evidence of its goodneſs: If *Democracy*, the happineſſe of the *Romans* under their tribunes is very memorable; to which may be added this out of *Machiavel*, that they are the moſt ſuitable guardians of any thing, who are leaſt deſirous to uſurp it: and without doubt conſidering the Deſignes of the Nobility: and the people, we muſt confeſſe, that the firſt are very am-

Vpon Levi. p. 22.

ambitious of rule, the laſt deſire onely not to be oppreſt.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

I Preſume that Perſon is very rare, that can boaſt of ſuch an abſolute Saint-ſhip whileſt he is amongſt mortalls, but that there will now and then ſome actions fall from him, which confeſſe humanity, and require Candor: ſome leaves in the volume of the faireſt life, that are *Legenda cum veniâ:* If this be a common frailty, why do wee fixe ſuch rigid cenſures upon the miſcarriages of Princes? or why do we deny them

them the ſame mildneſſe which we uſe, when we commiſerate the infirmities of other men? 'tis yet much more diſ-ingenious to revive & pore upon a few bad actions, which it may be have been long ago expiated with many good: Take this from no meane Statiſt--*Iniqua in omni re accuſanda, prætermiſſis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque ſelectio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit*, 'Tis an unjuſt way of accuſing to omit the good offices of a Prince, and to ſelect and publiſh onely his bad; for by this

means no Magistrate shall be innocent.

As greatnesse gives a Glosse to the Vertues of a Prince, so it mitigates his Vices: for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyments we see withal what variety of temptations hee hath to struggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other weapon than his meere vertue; sometimes we are defended from a sinne by our very impotency, it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach; wee do not, because we cannot; how often are our wills

wills offenders, when our hands are innocent? wee are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate desires, but himself. This is that which inhances the goodnesse of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his temperate Knight through all the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a Conquerour. Spencer.

But suppose a Magistrate really tyrannical; it is no contemptible question, Whether the evills of the redresse may not be equivalent to the mis-

chief. I remember *Livy's*, *Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium*: *Wee can neither abide the disease, nor the remedy*: and *Plutarch's*, χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας πολυάρχιαν πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον. *A civill Warre is worse than an irregular Monarchy*: and *Tacitus Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt, donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur*: *The humours of Kings are to be tolerated; nor is it usuall to change them: whilest there are men there will be vices. The miscarriages of a*

Prince

Prince may be great, the vertues of his Succeſſour may be greater: and *Seneca, Infæliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo, He is unfortunately ſick, that is more in danger of his Phyſitian, than of his diſeaſe.* Poiſe the miſeries of a Civill Warre with the grievances of an unjuſt Magiſtrate, and the Polititian muſt take many graines of allowance from fallacy to make the ſcales even. For though the fury of incenſed Tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the

bloody consequences of an intestine Sword, are more epidemicall and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a Governor upon the Government its self, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more grosse abuse, than

Isocrates. τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν. *To make the Office guilty of the Officer's abuse.*

For King-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; onely I find it damn'd by an able English Divine, as Jesuitical; and *Tacitus* com-

Jo. Goodw. in his Anticavalris.

commends to subjects rather *ſcutum* than *gladium*, the ſhield of patience and toleration, rather than the ſword.

Principle IV.

The Politician must nourish some some mercenary Jesuites, or other Divines, to cry up his aims in their Churches, that so the poyson may insinuate more generaly into all the parts.

HE that peruses History will find, that there hath been no Innovation so grosse, no Rebellion so hideous, but hath had some Ecclesiasticall Fomentors; for such as want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, are most apt to envy the just honours of better men; and despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety,

ty, they aſpire to it by the crooked means of faction and ſchiſm; nor are thoſe deſpicable inſtruments to the Politician; for the ſharpeſt ſword in his Army cannot vie ſervices with a ſubtle quill: You may ſee his buſineſſe in the Comick, γεάφω, βελεύσων, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμήσων, *Writing, diſputing, that ſo his tongue is a ſhield to his Patrons opinion, and a ſword to his adverſaries.* *Ariſtophanes.*

The Jeſuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may by any ſiniſter waies ruffle and and diſorder Hereticall Kingdomes (ſo he calls them

them) encourage weak and unstable minds to slight Magistracy, irritat divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and all sacred ties; so that it is hard to find any tragicall Scene, or bloody Theater, into which the Jesuite hath not intruded, and been as busie, as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every Fanatick Insolence, justifying the old Lemma of *Loyola's* Picture, *Cavete vobis Principes:* These are the firebrands of *Europe*, the Forge and Bellowes of sedition, Infernall Emissa-

ries

ries, the Peſts of the Age, men that live as if huge ſinnes would merit Heaven by an Antiperiſtaſis.

2. Nor is any Nation without ſome turbulent ſpirits of its own, the diſhonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the ſhame, and ſometimes the ruine of their Countrey; you would think they had their Text from a Gazet, becauſe you hear ſo much of a Curranto in the Application: That theſe may be fit implements for the Politician, there are theſe requiſit qualifications. *Claſſica canere.*

1. There muſt be a principall gift of wreſting the Scripture, vexing and uring

ging the holy Text, constraining it to Patronize the design; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphaticall termes: 1. Cogging the Die, making the Word speak what they list; 2. Crafty Applications, and Expositions of it: 3. All the Methods and Arts of cousenage, ὡραιάζονται καὶ χρυσιάζονται λόγους, gilding and varnishing rotten Doctrines, and this must be done

Κυβεία, Πανουργεία, μεθοδεία, πλάνης

1. In publique, vomiting out flames and Sulphur from that Sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but mild & soft, that is, Evangelicall Embassages. 2. In

2. In private, at Parlour Sermons, and Meeting Houſes, where he is liſtned to as an Oracle, and here commonly he is more Enthuſiaſt, than Scripturiſt, and his Auditors beleeve his dreams to be as Canonicall as the Revelation; like thoſe *Melancthon* ſpeaks of, *Quicquid ſomniant, volunt eſſe ſpiritum ſanctum, Their Dreams are all new lights*; or thoſe that the Father chides, when he tels them that every whimſey is not Propheſie, Οὗ πᾶν ἐννύχιον εὔθυς προφητεία.

οἰκοφθόροι. Evangeliopthori.

3. He ought to bee of ſome abilities in diſputing; and what he wants

wants in Logick, he must supply in Garrulity: for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduc'd hearers, improves into a Syllogism; you ask after his *Topicks*, *Ex officina carnificum argumenta petit, He has his arguments from* Gregory, *but not the Saint*. If after his *weapons*, *Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen, He carries the name of Christ in the Van of Rebellion and Robbery*; and the wound he makes is faction; those consciences which will not surrender to his parley, his Master takes by storm: and thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his

Popul. Ταχυπειθία.

S. *Hierom.*

Strada.

his favour to unwarrantable actions: he abuſes his Prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his ſubjects; he abuſes the Church, by ſhattering it into rents & ſchiſms, wounding it with a feather from its owne wing, ſnatching a Coale from the Altar to fire both Church and State; and laſtly, he abuſes himſelf, for when the Politician hath made his beſt uſe of his ſeditious ſpirit, he leaves him to his own wild diſtempers, having directed his own thoughts to another Goale.

Eccleſiæ nomine armamini & contra Eccleſiam dimicatis Aug.

Co-

Colaſterion.

ALthough we have caution enough againſt theſe in ſad and frequent experiences, theſe latter Ages groaning under the Effects of an Exorbitant Clergy; yet ſuch is the eaſineſſe and credulity of the Vulgar; ſuch the ſubtlety and diſſembled ſanctity of the Impoſtor, that he meets with as great a proneneſſe in the people to be couſen'd, as he brings willingneſſe to delude; for it is a true Obſervation, that theſe Clan-

Clancular Sermocinators beare as great ſway in popular minds, and make as deep impreſſion upon their Conſciences, as the *Loyoliſts* doe, when they impoſe upon their blind Laity.

I dare only ſubjoyne theſe few adviſes.

Firſt, I ſhould ſuſpect a Clericall Statiſt, I mean ſuch a one as in the diſpenſation of Sacred Oracles, tampers with ſecular affairs, unleſſe it be in caſe of high concernment to his Auditors ſoules.

Secondly, I ſhould believe him a Jugler, that ſprinkles

ſprinkles his Sermons with murmurs againſt the lawful Magiſtrate, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; unleſs he hath ſome better ground for his diſlike, than a thwarting his humour, in things Controverſal and Adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I ſhould more than doubt his knavery, that ſhould ſuborne Scripture, to atteſt, or incite to illegall Actions, as akin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religioſum ſcelus*, *Religious wickedneſſe*.

Fourthly, All newes in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Diſcipline, is the common skreen of private

Καιροφωνία.

vate design. Let *Mæcenas* tell it, τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας τὶ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, πολλοὺς, γὰρ ἀναπεύθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν *All innovators in Religion, let them be severely punished, for they are fomenters of sedition.* Which is noted by the great *Casaubon* in his Epistle before his Baronian exercitations, thus; *Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, & statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam & populum concutit,* &c. *Novelties in the Church, are never without these sad consequences,*

Apud Dion. Cass.

They

they rend the ſeamleſſe Coat of our bleſſed Saviour; they breed Schiſms, and then brood and multiply them; they ſhake the fundamentalls of Church and State, &c.

'Tis ſad to ſee *Urania*, divine *Urania* inroll'd in blood, the Stars and Luminaries of the Church, to ſhed ſuch black and malignant influences; in lieu of pious documents to hear none but furious incentives; *Ite alacres, tantæq; precor, confidite Cauſæ; No mat er for the Church, or Lawes, You may confide in ſuch a cauſe.* The Cauſe they ſerve is the Doctrine and the

Papirius.

the uſe, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their diſcourſes; if you like to confer notes, you may find a piece of their Sermon in *Barclay*, to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Chriſtianis animis vim inferre, ſuam cuiq; conſcientiã liberã relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi quemquã adigere; eam eſſe Evangelii doctrinam, ut omnes conſcientiæ fruantur libertate: ſibiq; ut id liceat, votis omnibus poſtulare; They extoll Evangelicall liberty, that no Chriſtian mindes ſhould be yok'd with Chriſts Govern. that all ſhould enjoy free conſciences; that* Con. Monarc. p. 32.

the

the Gospell is soft and milde, nor does it seek to reduce any by violence: they beg the same inlargement and scope for themselves, which they gladly allow to others.

Prin-

Principle V.

If ſucceſſe waits upon his Enterpriſes, he urges it to authenticate his Cauſe.

THere is no Argument more popular than ſucceſſe, becauſe the bulk of men is not able to diſtinguiſh the permiſſion of God from his approbation: And although it be in its ſelf fallacious and feeble, yet the miſery of the conquered denies them the opportunity to diſpute it: for the oppoſition of the ſword wil never be confuted by the bare

bare fist of Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free?

In *Pompeio* Δοῦλος πέφυκας οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου; as the Souldiers in *Plutarch* wondered any would be so importunate to preach Laws, and Morall reasons to men with Swords by their sides;

Οὐ παύσεσθε ὑμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντες

As if Armes knew not how to descend to rationall inquiries, but were enough justified by an odde kind of necessity of their own creating; like those

thoſe in *Livy*, *in armis jus ferre, & omnia fortium virorum eſſe*, That *all Laws are engraved on the hilt of a victorious ſword, to whoſe* Mandamus *all other Statutes muſt ſubmit.*

I have often conſidered with my ſelf, what ſhould move Tyrants to print juſtifications of themſelves, and aſſertions of their proceedings, which I ſuppoſe never made an understanding man a convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any, unleſs the abuſe of a few, poor, ſhallow believers, be thought a Triumph worth their pains. I have ſometimes

thought they do by these papers please themselves in their abilities to delude, and so gratifie their tyranny over the noblest part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought and subduing the powers of the soule to an implicit coherence with their own Magisteriall opinions.

But our Polititian, by quoting the successe of his undertakings, besides the plausiblenesse and insinuating nature of the Proposition its selfe, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible, many of parts and

and prudence, yea and of Religion have been ſtagger'd by it; ſome queſtion whether *Dionyſius* deſerv'd the brand of Atheiſme, conſidering the wild conceits they then had of their Gods; or differed from the common Creed, crying out, O how the Gods favour Sacriledge! when he had a merry gale after a ſacrilegious attempt. The beſt of the Roman Hiſtorians calls the Victory, the juſt Arbitreſſe of the Cauſe, *Eventus belli velut æquus Judex, unde jus ſtat, ei victoriam dabit*, The event of the Warre, like an im-

Partiall Judge shall knit victory and right together: So hard it is to perswade meer reason, that Vertue may be unfortunate, and Vice happy.

He was no small Poet that argued himself out of his Gods, by seeing wickednesse honoured, and worth slighted: which he expresses thus,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo, quis putet esse Deos?

In

In Engliſh.

Licinus *does in Marble ſleep,*
A common Urne does Cato *keep:*
Pompey's *Aſhes may catch cold,*
That there are Gods let Dotards hold.

There may be ſome uſe made of that in *Seneca*, *Honeſta quædam ſcelera ſucceſſus facit*, Proſperous miſchiefs are Cardinall vertues in the Worlds Ethicks; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Proſperum ac Fœlix ſcelus virtus vocatur.* The unwarrantableneſſe is hid

Her. fur.

and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſs; we often praiſe the Macedonian Conqueſt, but ſeldome mention their boundleſſe and unjuſt ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the World, 'tis the event that gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad. τὸ κρατῆσαν τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὸν ἡττηθέντα καταφρονοῦμεν. *We adore the fortunate, and deſpiſe the Conquer'd.*

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THere is ſome of this Leaven in the judgments of moſt, notwithſtanding thoſe brighter diſcoveries, in the Noon of Chriſtianity we live under. A Bible throughly obſerv'd, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark paſſages of providence: we are ſo ſhort-ſighted, that we cannot ſee beyond time, we value things, and men, by their temporall proſperities, and tranſient glories; whereas if we put

Eternity into the other ſcale, it would much outpoiſe that worldly luſtre, that ſo much abuſes our eye, and couſens our underſtandings.

I find not in holy writ that God hath inſeparably annex'd goodneſs & greatneſs, juſtice and victory: Hee hath ſecured his Servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Chriſts Kingdom was not, our happi is not of this world.

Nor doth my Bible ſhew me any warrant for appeal to Heaven for the deciſion of this, or that intricacy: by beſtowing

ſucceſſe

ſucceſſe upon this party, or that cauſe, according to its righteouſneſſe, and due merit. There is a vaſt difference betwixt ἀπόχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture conſtruction.

The Great Turk may juſtly exult and prune himſelfe in diſcourſes of this nature, if they be once admitted, and own'd by Chriſtians: And I ſhall forbeare any longer to think *Mahomet* an Impoſtor, and muſt receive the *Alcaron* for Goſpell, if I ſhall be convinced, that temporall happineſs and Triumph, are a true

Index of divine Favour. Our Religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crownes and Garlands are reserv'd for Heaven.

The Money-God in *Aristophanes* pretends a command from *Jupiter* to distribute as great a Largess to the wicked, as to the good; because if vertue should ōce impropriate riches, that faire Goddesse would be more wooed for her Dowry, then for her native Beauty: So if religion were attended with those outward

ἐν Πλούτῳ.

ward allurements that moſt take the ſenſes; we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and over-look the ſpirituall charmes, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity.

The Heathen could ſay, *Fœlix prædo mundo exemplum inutile*; Happy Pyracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; fortunate ſins may prove dangerous temptations; But to ſay that God doth ſignally atteſt the actions of ſuch a perſon, or the juſtice of ſuch a cauſe, by permitting it to proſper, and taper up in the world, is ſuch a deceit, as deſerves

our

our ſerious abhorrency—
I leave it with *Ovids* wiſh,

——*Careat ſucceſſibus opto,*
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Let him for ever in ſucceſſe be poor
That thinks it juſtifies his cauſe the more.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Politician must change with the times.

THAT Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdoms, are the Rods with which God scourges miscarrying Princes, is resolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may bee added out of *Aristotle* in the fifth of his Politiques ——— *Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdom are often derived from fraud and

and ſubtilties: I ſhal omit inquiry into other Cauſes, as forreign to my preſent purpoſe.

The Polititian knowes beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, becauſe he cauſed them: ſuch a ſtorm is his ſeed-time. 'Tis the boaſt of a Ducthman, that he can ſail with all winds; the aſpiring mā obſerves the quarter whence the fair'ſt gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſailes of his Ambition to entertain them, nor can the compaſs breath more varieties, than his dexterous ſoul has changes & garbs, and ſuitable compliances. What

What the Orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeverall humours and genius of all ſorts of men, qualifying his addreſſe with what hee knows, will moſt charme the perſon he treats: that the Polititian does not only with his lip, but life, you may find all thoſe Figures & Troops digeſted into his actions, and made practicall, that are in the other onely voeal.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marqueſs (*Pawlet* of *Winchester*) who having ſucceſſefully ſerved four Princes, and ſtill

Nautons Regalia.

ſtill in the ſame room of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had runne through; being ask'd by one, by what meanes he preſerved his fortune? he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant Willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwaies of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous Profeſſour. This eaſines & bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times, were retain'd in a compoſed and ſetled government, it would bee altogether diſtaſtful; and ſo on the contrary.

There-

Therefore if Religion be fashionable, you can scarcely distinguish him from a Saint: He does not onely reverence the holy Ministers, but if need be, he can preach himselfe: If Cunctation prevailes, hee acts *Fabius*: If the Buckler must be changed for a sword, he personates *Marcellus*: If mildnesse be usefull, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a lamb than he: If severities are requisite, *Nero's* Butcheries are Sanctities, compared with his: As *Alcibiades*, in *Plutarch*, shifted disposition as hee altered place (being voluptuous and

and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal and retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) ſo he proportions himſelf to time, place, perſon, Religion, with ſuch a plauſibleneſs, as if he had been born onely to ſerve that opiniõ, which he harboured but as a gueſt whileſt it continued in ſway: having a room in his heart, if occaſion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once uſed to extoll the former. And thus like a ſubtle *Proteus*, hee aſſumes that ſhape that is moſt in grace, and of moſt profitable conducement to his ends, *In eo*

ſtant

ſtant conſilia, quod ſibi conducere putat, *All his conſultations turne upon the hinge of ſelf-intereſt.*

Hee abounds in that which *Varro* calls, *verſatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning than a Potter's wheel. *Rota figulari verſatilior.*

Hee hath his advantage of the Camelion, that he can aſſume whiteneſs; for I find him often wearing the veſt of innocency, to conceal the uglineſſe, and blackneſſe of his Attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour

nour, and hath long since abjured his God, Religion, Conscience, and all that shall interpose, and skreen him from those beams, that may ripen his wishes and aims into enjoyments.

Co-

Colasterion:

BUt the true Statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of vertue and religious prudence; his ends are noble, & the means he uses, innocent: he hath a single eye on the publick good; and if the ship of the State miscarry, he had rather perish in the wreck, than preserve himself upon the planke of an in-glorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helme, the Rudder he uses, is an honest and vigorous wis-

dom

dome, the Star hee looks to for direction is in Heaven, and the port he aims at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and People.

This constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise Venetian hath built its long-liv'd Republick: So that it is not improbable the Maiden-Queene borrow'd her Motto of *Semper eadem*, from this Maiden Common-wealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person; and I grant that there are many innocent compliances, *Virgils Obliqua-*

re

re ſinus, is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſſe: We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that hee might gain the Jewes, but he did not become a ſinner, that he might gaine ſinners; He was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condeſcenſions were ſuch, as did well conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſs, and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſo much inamour the doting world, are too poor

poor ſhrines for ſuch a ſacrifice as Conſcience, which the Politician hath ſo much abuſed by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menſtruous, Ephemerall.

Prin-

Principle VII.

If the Polititian find reason to impose Oathes, Let them be of such Ambiguity as may furnish with a sense obliging to the design, and yet so soft as the people may not feele the snare.

IT appears by sad experience, that in propounding of Oaths, requiring Promises, and other solemn ties; there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret Loose, and mental reservation; which

they have fram'd to themselves as a *salvo* in case of breach: so apt we are in affairs of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt Wit, than sound Conscience.

In the Catalogue of self-delusions, you may possibly find these;

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, especially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to find terms so positive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or seem to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promises *quâ* illicite

cite, becauſe they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frighted into theſe bonds by threats, and loſſes, and temporal concernments, and then they pleaſe themſelves that they ſwear by Dureſs, & ſo are diſ-ingaged.

4. Some are oath-proof: I mean there are ſuch fear-ſoul'd men, as will ſwear *Pro* and *Con*.

5. Some have learned from the *Civilians*, that though wee ſwear to a thing not materially unlawfull, yet if it impedes a greater morall good, it becomes void. Grot. *de jur. belli*, 245.

6. Some take liberty to

ſwear, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſwear incapable of an oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a thief, from perjury, and *Brutus* to a Tyrant: as it is in *Appian*, οὐδὲν πίσον ὅτι Ρωμαίοις δοκεῖ τυράννοις οὐδ' ἔνορκον. *The Romans eſteeme it an honeſt perjury, to violate their faith with Tyrants.*

The firſt ſort of theſe falls moſt properly under the notice, and practiſe of our Polititian; though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion as

as will down with moſt: Yea, with many that would abſolutely diſavow the ſame thing in rough Language. If hee be unskill'd in this black Art, I commend him to the Pedagogy of the *Delphick* Devil.

Now it is moſt certaine, there is no other tye of ſuch ſecurity, and eſtabliſhment, to a Perſon that hath raviſhed greatneſs, and acquired it by violence. Uſurpation hath onely theſe two pillars, its own Armes, and Militia, and publik oath and Acknowledgement; and it is ſcarce worth

Query, whether, when the Groſs of a Nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the conſcience as much concerned, as if it had been ſworn to a lawfull Prince. It is reaſonable that an uſurping power cannot upon any prudent perſwaſion have the ſame cõfidence in the love of the people that a Juſt hath: Nor is the following government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quiſquam imperium malis artibus quæſitum benè adminiſtravit*, *Never any Kingdome badly acquired was well adminiſtred.* The ſame with *Cuazzo*, where one

one objecting the vices of Princes, receives this answer, *Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati:: Therefore they were not naturall Princes, but violent Usurpers, and so more beholding to the fear than love of their Subjects.* And therefore if the Polititian can by the blessed means foremẽtioned gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious Guards, his own goodnesse, and the love of others: His best defence is awe, and feare, and Scaffold, and Gibbit, and the like. For *De civil. conversat. l. 2. p. 132.*

hee that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, must use all means to gain a coercive.

For his own promises, he puts them into the same bottomlesse bagge, which the Poets say *Iupiter* made for Lovers asseverations: His Word is as good as his Oath, for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

Aulular. —— *Pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est, cum illis Lubet:*

A bargain shall no bargain be

If

If I can no Advantage ſee;
A bargaine ſhall a bargaine be
If it with my deſignes agree.

'Twas he that firſt invented that uſeful diſtinction of a lip-oath, and a heart-oath; you may find him in *Euripides.*

Jurata lingua eſt, mente juravi nihil;

I with my Tongue can ſwear,
And with my Heart forbear.

Hee makes good uſe of that in *Plutarch*, τὸς μὲν Apoh.d

παῖδας ἀσεγγόλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' Ἄνδρας ὅρκοις that children are to bee couſened with rattles, and men with oaths.

'Tis an huge Advantage that man hath in a credulous World, that can eaſily ſay and ſweare to any thing; and yet withall ſo palliate his Falſifications and Perjuries, as to hide them from the Connuſance of moſt, the Politician muſt be furniſhed with handſome Refuges, that may ſeemingly heale miſcarriages this way. Hee needs not ſpend much time in inquiry after ſuch

ſuch helpes; theſe declining Ages will abundantly furniſh his invention.

Co-

Colasterion.

AN Oath is in its selfe a religious affirmation, a promise with Gods seal; and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to swear Liquidly, and to observe Conscionably. 'Tis pitty such slender Evasions should satisfie us, as have been scorn'd by heathens. We are bound (saies one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we doe ψευδορκεῖν, wee are bound to the performance of what we have thus

thus ſworn, or elſe we do ἐπιορκεῖν: 'Tis much, that a morall conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: as if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Cæſar*, than we reverence the preſence of a God: or elſe we ſhould never ingage in new proteſtations that do inferre, yea, and ſometimes poſitively quarrell with old. They had their θεοὶ ἐπόρκιοι, their perjury revenging Gods, to whoſe vindictive power they referred their offenders: they puniſh'd ſuch as ſwore falſely by their Prince with ſuſtigation;

But

But such as abused their Gods, were left to the dispose of their injured Deities, as if they were at a losse how to find a punishment equal to the sin. Hear how soberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philostratus*) *En toutes manieres ſà eſte un fort belle ordinance & inſtitution, de n'uſer point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de les contaminer: car la Majeſte des Dieux ne ſe doit imployer, qui en un ſaincte & venerable pure-te, It is wiſely ordain'd that the names of the Gods ſhould not be uſed upon triſling occaſions,*

occasions, for fear of polluting them; for the Majestie of the Gods should not be imployed, but in holy and venerable purity. See what reall honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have a Care that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false Oath: It appears in his severity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian* Monarch, though a Tyrant of the first magnitude. *Causabon exercitat.* 202.

Were all subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bound, we should be leſſe prone to take

take, & more ſtudious to obſerve it: I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, derives ὅρκος παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τό συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ὀρκούμενον. It hedges in, and ſhuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him; I know not how ſome Conquerours may cut this knot with the ſword, or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords, or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo Divine an Ordinance.

There

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what such as are, or would be great, please to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the rock of credulity: and 'tis no heresie to affirme, that many have been saved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus*.

Νᾶφε, καὶ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Prin-

Principle VIII.

Necessity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worst of actions.

IT has been observed, that in all innovations & Rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Lawes hath been authorised by that great Patronesse of Illegall Actions—Necessity.

ἐκθρὰ ἀνόγκη; *sæva necessitas.*

Now the Polititian is never without such an Advo-

Advocate as this; For he cares not to distinguish whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more, than that he is compell'd to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sinne were enough to justifie the first.

He changes that old charitable advise — *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*: that so heaping one crime upon another

ther, the latter may defend the former from the ſtroke of juſtice.

He adores that Maxim in *Livy*, *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus in armis ſpes eſt, That war muſt needs be juſt that is neceſſary, and thoſe armes pious that are all our livelyhood:* It were very incongruous to deſire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without; 'tis no leſſe unnaturall to invite him to quit his ſword, whoſe life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can inſinuate the ſcope of the War to be Legall,

Legall, a little daubing will serve to Legalize the circumstances: that of the Civilians must be remembered —— *Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria, Nothing is unlawfull in Warre, that serves the end and design of it*: the Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Swordmen; and it may be he had wit in his anger, who affirm'd, that martial Law was as great a Solœcism, as martiall Peace:

Victor. *de Jure Belli* nu. 18. 39.

If the People be once possest that his aime and intention is faire, they wil never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his

his end ſhould be retrenched by the ſtrict Boundaries of Law: He manages that rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ conſiderationem invadere poſsum, I may invade any thing of any mans that threatens certain dauger to me, if I ſuffer him to enjoy it.* Now he can very plauſibly make this *periculum, certum*, or *incertum*, as ſhall beſt ſuit with his affairs.

De jure Belli, l. 424.

'Tis a broad liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare ſi vitam aliter ſervare non poſsum, licet mihi vi*

vi qualicunque arcere eum qui eum impetit, licèt peccato vacet, & hoc ex jure quod mihi pro me natura concedit, If I have no other way to assure my life, I may by any means, repell any power that assaults it, though just: Selfe-defence being a cleare dictate of nature. Mach. on Livy, 627.

When Life, and Liberty, and Safetie come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pittifull or cruell, honourable or dishonourable. Now when the People have according to his desire, got over the great obstacle, & disgested the plot

plot for pious; it is easie to set all future proceedings upon the score of Liberty, Safety, Religion: and if he be constrained to use means grosly unlawfull, 'tis but to make them seem holy in the application, and all's wel. For it is the humour and genius of the Vulgar: when they have once rushed into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately, as if they were under demonstrative Convictions of its Justice.

Finally, He must make a vertue of Necessity, because there is no other

vertue

vertue will ſo eaſily be induced to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon Licentiouſneſſe, who hath her ſelfe no law.

Colaſterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be neceſſitated to ſin: Our Divines generally damn an officious Lye; and the equity binds from any officious ſinne.

It would ſoon cut the nerves of the eight Commandement, if Neceſſities & Urgencies, though reall, were pronounced a ſufficient excuſe for ſtealing. But that which our Politician calls Neceſſity, is no more then neceſſity of convenience, nor ſo much, except we interpret that

that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses Necessity as the old Philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Those Civilians that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonick Lawes onely those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had in vain sought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep *Less. l.* 11. *c.* 12. *Dab.* 12. *nu.* 17.

in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship, in imminent perill of wrack; But this will not excuse those, who upon a fond or feigned prævision of a State-tempest, shall immediately cast Law and Conscience overboard; Discard, and quit Rudder & steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Pausanias tells of a Chappell in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Necessity & Violence; those Twin-Goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of Heathens; but 'tis pitty they should be so much adored

Cælius Rhodig. 1025.

dored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamentall deceit lies in a greedie entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies, & severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of Gods word, and Nationall Lawes: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurditie we first granted; according to the antient Philosophick Maxime, Ἑνὸς ἁμάρτῃ δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

Principle IX.

The Politician must waive all Relations, both Sacred and Civill, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.

SUch as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that wil usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatnesse.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the walls of

of *Rome* were cemented with blood, is known & commended by *Machiavel*; Although the superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall find it laid in the red ruines of her wasted neighbours; that the first Founder became a fratricide upon reason of State, to guard his new Conquest, by freedome from a Competitor, is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its structure alone, but after in its reparations; when the Sons

upon *Liv. l. 2. c. 3. Thebe maritum, Timoleon fratrem. Cassius filium hoc jure interfecere.*

of *Brutus* were ſacrific'd to the deſign of their Father: So that *Rome* was not only nurs'd with bloud, but after grouth and ripeneſſe, ſhe ſuſtained her ſelfe, lived and thrived upon *Magna & ſanguinolenta latrocinia*; ſo that our Politician can ſcarce want examples in the applauded actions of this City, to patronize the moſt crimſon and skarlet ſin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generoſity of *Nero's* Mother, who is reported to have ſaid of her ſon, Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω,

Let

Let my Son be my murderer, so he may be a Monarch: According to the advise of an high spirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem summis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet constant bene*, An Empire cannot be purchased too dear, though it cost the blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mamalukes*, who abused the easinesse of the Ægyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred yeares, upon the length and keennesse of an usurping Sword.

And rather then want a bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* wiſdome; for the great *Turk* rivets himſelfe to the Imperiall Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aſpiring deſires are not only inſatiate, but admit of any ſin, that will promote their ends: See *Baſſianus* murthering his brother *Geta* in his Mothers armes; *Andronicus* ſtrangling his Couſin *Alexius*, leſt he ſhould have a part in the Empire that had right to all; See *Cæſar* ſlighting the Oathes by which he had obliged his obedience to the *Roman* Senate. Fi-

Finally, Ambition knowes no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The Gods must bow and yield to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est, eadem strages mœnium & Templorum, tot sacrilegii Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi*; *'Tis impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods; Temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of warre; the sacriledges of the Romans were as numerous as their Trophies, yet the Gods follow'd their triumphant Chariots.* In Apolo get.

Co-

Colasterion

THe Italian Politian ſeems to intimate a ſcruple, when he ſaies, ——*Si jus violandum eſt, regnandi causâ violandum eſt*, His (If) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the barre of Nature, or Divinity (though poſſibly the entire aſſertion may have ſomething of truth) yet we ſhall find that wicked (if) abſolutely baniſhed.

'Tis true, we may more juſtly pitty him; that ſwallowes a bait fair and gliſtring, then a perſon

ſon that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling allurements; becauſe in the firſt caſe a greater reluctancy is requiſite, and the dart may poſſibly be ſo ſharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a ſober Reſolution; but all this will little ſuccour him, who knows it to be a baite, and hath beforehand deſigned its beauty, and fairneſſe, to apologize for the foulneſſe of the ſin: for here the greatneſſe of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the groſſeneſſe of the crime. No more than he mitigates

mitigates his Robbery, who ſhall plead, that hee ſtole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The World is much miſtaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown, wee gaze upon its brightneſs; and forget its brittleneſs; we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; wee reſpect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all thoſe gay things which wee fondly fancy to our ſelves were really to be found in Greatneſſe, yet ſtill hee payes too deare, that pawnes his Heaven for it; he that thus buyes a ſhort bliſſe,

bliſſe, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchaſe, but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Chriſtian if unlawfull; ſuch preſidents may perchance baffle the Vulgar (in whoſe Creede you may inſert what you pleaſe) but will be very cold anſwers, when wee appear before a ſevere Tribunall: It concernes us rather to obſerve how ambition claims kindred with every other vice, ſtoops and takes up every ſinne lies in its way; and,

if

if upon enquiry we finde it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it our selves, and seriously to detest it in others.

Principle X.

A generall Innovation contributes much to the growth and security of Usurpation.

WEE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, attested by the practice of the subtilest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like perswasions.

1. Because such an Innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design; for when the waters are troubled, 'tis hard

hard to ſee the baite.

2. Becauſe the Parentheſis betwixt an old and new government, flatters the hopes of all parties, ſoothing thoſe deſires that are for a relapſe into the old, and yet incouraging thoſe that wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a new.

3. Becauſe when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heape, when all the lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old ſooner forgotten: for ſuppoſe a Kingdom made a Lump, with-

without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd, you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Juriſdictions, and Offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe that have ſerv'd us; and for others, its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborne and rigid opiniators, who have continued

continued, long unshaken either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*.

Τὴν Αρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν νικῶσι χελῶναι.

The two great pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being Mammon-proof, doe bow to Gold.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependence, and make others adhere to our

our Fortunes, than by winding the concernements of other men upon the ſame bottom with our intereſt; we may obſerve this from the practice of great Favourites, who alwaies delight in theſe props, and are carefull to ſet their whole Tribes in the Sunſhine of favour.

5. Becauſe ſuch a generall Deordination gives a taſte and reliſh to the ſucceding Government, though in its ſelfe not ſo delectable; for *Ariſtotle* notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy. 3. *Pol.*

There are many other advantages

advantages to be made by a due improvemement of thoſe turbid intervalls; as the occaſion of ſubdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for by this meanes they which refuſed to cloſe with it in groſſe, will receive it in retaile: and having entertained ſome portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will bee by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Beſides, when all things are ruffled and confuſed, it is then the Devils Holy day, and therefore our worke day: The noiſe is ſo loud, that it drownes the

the voice of the Law; and there may bee ſome truth in his waggery, who ſaid, That ſuch as meane to commit Rape upon the Body politick, muſt put out the Lawes; as others upon a like occaſion uſe to put out the Lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to ſin with impunity, to uſurp proſperouſly, or to governe Arbitrarily; wee muſt take out that Leſſon in *Plautus:*

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus Res timida aut Turbida eſt; Pergunt turbare uſque, ut ne quid poſſit conquieſcere.

If

If my owne affaires require,
I can ſet the State on fire:
Let the ruin'd Kingdome bleed,
So my priuate ends may ſpeed;
I can dance in ſuch a ſtorm,
'Tis a new way to reform.

Colaſterion.

THis moſt certain, that ſiniſter ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lies in our boſomes to promote or quench the Innovations themſelves, which we can no way better do, then by a ſtrict adherence to the Lawes; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: If we obſerve theſe, it will reſcue us from the hands of State-Noveliſts; for we are not fit for their turnes, till we are croſſe-byaſſed with faction.

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeat, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord, ---That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the leaſt dangers of change, that all the perills and inconveniencies which it brings, cannot be foreſeen; and therefore ſuch as make title to wiſdome, will not undergo great dangers, but for great neceſſities.

Falkland.

But

But further let me appeal to generall experience; yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou haſt never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being inſenſible of its happineſſe, or poſſeſt with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has cloſed with pretended friends, and reall enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruine.

So apt men are to catch at the ſhadow, though they hazard the ſubſtance: we may gueſſe at the morall of the Frogs

in the Fable, who could find no satisfaction in a still Prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such distempers in a State, as shal necessarily require amendment, let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the sword of violence; For I never read that Illegall, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithites for Reformation. And 'tis fit Christians should forbear the use of such surly Physick, till they have levied a Fine in the

the Court of Heaven, and out of the Intail of the ſeventh Beatitude.

This may ſuffice to reveale in ſome meaſure *Arcanum Ambitionis*, ὑπερφανίας μυστήριον. I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephews, when Pens ſhall be infranchiſed.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever baniſh this curſed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Chriſtian World; and damne it down to Hell, from whence originally it came; and let ſuch

as delight to abuſe others, think of that ſelfe-couſenage, with which in the interim they abuſe themſelves; God permitting the Devill to revenge the Impoſture. And whilſt we are buſie wich Politick ſtratagems, and tortious armes to invade the rights of others; let us all conſider that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraiſons, that God would guard our Pulpits from ſuch Boutefeus, as like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, belched out nothing but flames and fiery diſcourſes,

ſes, uſing the Scripture as prepoſterouſly & impertinently, as ſome Pontificians, who tranſported with the vehemence of Hilderbrand's zeal, think the temporall Monarchy of Popes ſufficiently Scriptural from the ſaying of Chriſt to *Peter* —— *Paſce oves*. Far be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines, it is eaſie to diſtinguiſh the Vulture from the Dove. The miſcarriages of the Clergy have a deeper ſtain from the ſacredneſs of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Euchariſt has the more

more to answer for his TripleCrown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel, *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World: What is become of truth, sincerity charity, humility, those *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Astræa* into Heaven, & have left such degenerous successors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression? *&c.* Such qualities as abundantly justifie the worst of Heathens, & dishonor

shonor the name of Christians: I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short Summary;

Novi ego hoc seculum quibus moribus sit; Malus bonum malum esse vult, ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit;

I know the various humours of our times;
He that is wicked now inflames his crimes

By

By making Proselytes to hell;
and he
Joyes in it, that he may have
company
In rapines, murders, thefts;
now none can have
His own, except he be like
them, *a Knave.*
The Church is stripp'd by sa-
crilegious hands,
They that divided all divide
the lands.

Hiulca Gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turn'd
Shepheards, surely we
That have such Guardians,
are extremly free.

THat Eternall Majesty, which raised so brave a Fabrick out of such indispoſed materials; that weilds the world with his finger ever since it was made; that controules the wave, and checks the tumult of the people: that sits above, and laughs at the malignant counsels, & devices of wicked men: Let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may blossome; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raised; That the subtile may

may bee caught in their owne snare; And that the Result of all afflictions may be the greatning his Glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

FINIS.